

**THE EFFECT OF  
CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN  
NON-VERBAL BEHAVIOURS  
AND ETHNICITY  
ON INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION.**

by  
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## ABSTRACT

The present study investigated the influence of ethnicity and culturally based non-verbal behavioural style on interpersonal attraction. Sixty-four Palagi female university students interacted with a Samoan or Palagi confederate in dyads under the guise of participating in an interview on friendship. Confederates were trained in the use of proxemic behaviours of both the Samoan and Palagi cultures. A post-experimental questionnaire included four scales of interpersonal attraction on which the subjects rated their perceptions of the confederate. It was predicted that both ethnicity and non-verbal behavioural style would influence interpersonal attraction with subjects showing greater preference for confederates using their own behavioural style, and confederates of their own ethnicity. A main effect for non-verbal behavioural style was gained, but no main effect was found for ethnicity. The implications of these findings are discussed in the broader context of cross-cultural communication.

# INTRODUCTION

"Culture is Communication" - E.A. Hall (1966), p.119.

Every day our lives are woven together through communication. In communicating, we form impressions of others and make sense of the world around us. Not only do we use the verbal medium as a means of acquiring information but also the non-verbal medium. Non-verbal behaviours are an integral aspect of communication, so much so that some researchers have attributed to them even greater significance than verbal cues (Argyle, Salter, Nicholson, Williams, and Burgess, 1970; Mehrabian and Weiner, 1967; Mehrabian and Ferris, 1967). Yet, just as languages vary across the lands, so do non-verbal behavioural styles.

Because patterns of communication differ from culture to culture, it is likely that not only communication but also miscommunication occurs, influencing the way in which we perceive others. This may be especially so in settings where people share identical verbal codes but differing non-verbal behavioural styles. Person perception has been found to be influenced by a multitude of other variables in addition to non-verbal behaviours. In cross-cultural interactions, one salient variable is that of ethnicity. The present study explores the influence of both ethnicity and non-verbal behavioural style in cross-cultural interactions. It is predicted that these variables impact on aspects of person perception such as interpersonal attraction.

## CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH ON PROXEMIC BEHAVIOURS

Aside from the issue of universality which has preoccupied many researchers of cross-cultural communication<sup>1</sup>, much energy has been devoted to the study of similarities and differences in non-verbal behaviours across cultures. Work in this area flourished from the 1960s onwards, largely instigated by Hall's (1963) observational research. Hall (1963) coined the term proxemics, a concept now widely used in the study of non-verbal communication, and provided the first system for the notation of proxemic behaviour. This system consists of eight dimensions of non-verbal behaviours : posture and gender, shoulder orientation, closeness of the interactants, touch, gaze patterns, detection of body heat, detection of body odours, and a voice loudness scale. In cross-cultural studies, however, the more frequently studied elements of proxemic behaviour have included spatial distance, eye gaze, orientation, and posture.

In his early work, Hall (1963) suggested that people of different cultures vary in their use and interpretations of proxemic behaviours. On the most basic level, a distinction was made between "contact" (such as the Arab, Latin American, Southern European, and some African cultures) and "non-contact" cultures, which he suggested differed on dimensions of proxemic behaviour. For instance, with non-contact cultures, bodily contact is confined to the family, apart from greeting and parting, and various professional actions, such as those of doctors and tailors. The English, British-Americans and Germans employ very little touching in public. In contrast, for the Italians, French and Arab people, touching is an important

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<sup>1</sup>For a review see M. Argyle, *Bodily Communication* (1975).

and accepted part of social interaction. Hall made frequent referral to the Arab and American cultures when drawing on this distinction, but did not provide any empirical support for his observations.

The pioneering piece of research on non-verbal behaviours studied cross-culturally was that by Watson and Graves (1966). They designed and implemented a study founded on Hall's work, both putting to test his system of notation, and attempting to validate his observations of the Arab and American cultures. Their study was based on empirical observation of 16 Arab and 16 American university students as they conversed in same-culture pairs. Five of the eight dimensions of notation proposed by Hall (1963) were used to test the general hypothesis that Arabs, being a contact culture, would exhibit closer and more direct proxemic behaviours than the Americans, a non-contact culture. Differences in the predicted direction were recorded on all five variables of spatial distance, shoulder orientation, touch, visual behaviour, and voice loudness.

Although based in the laboratory and with a limited number of subjects, Watson and Graves' findings of proxemic differences provided impetus for a succession of similar studies. Little (1968) studied North Americans and North Europeans and found they interacted at greater distances than Mediterranean cultures, again supporting the contact/non-contact distinction. Engebretson and Fullmer (1970) looked at Oriental cultures, reporting that native Japanese use greater spatial distances than Hawaii Japanese and American Caucasians. Lomrantz (1976), basing his study in Israel, observed students of Argentinian, Russian and Iraqi nationality and also found cultural differences in interactional distances.



Watson (1970) studied 110 male foreign students from an American university. They were invited to the laboratory in pairs and were asked to talk spontaneously in their native language. Detailed observation of their proxemic behaviours was made from behind a one-way window. With respect to visual behaviour, the non-contact cultures (ie. Asian, Indian, Pakistani, and northern European students) looked less directly at their partner, and looked at them less often than the contact cultures (Arab students, etc.). In addition, these students also touched each other less often, faced each other less directly, and stood further apart. No relation was found, however, between gaze and measures of overseas cultural experience, such as time spent in the USA. Watson suggests that once eye gaze patterns have been established in childhood, they are relatively unaffected by later experience. He does not, however, study the eye gaze patterns of cross-cultural interactions to determine the flexibility of behaviours of those students who have lived in more than one culture.

LaFrance and Mayo (1976) studied gaze patterns between 126 Black and White dyads in America, with the general finding that, in conversation, Black people looked less while listening than White people. In the second part of their study, LaFrance and Mayo (1976) conducted detailed analysis of film clips showing two five minute conversations of an educated Black person with both another Black and then a White person. They reported instances of miscueing in the Black and White dyad due to gaze differences.

Field studies, such as the first half of the study by LaFrance and Mayo, have little control over variables such as social class and verbal content, as the authors acknowledge. LaFrance and Mayo draw upon their micro-analysis study to support the generalizability of their findings in the field study. A small study such as this, however, is limited in providing such support.

In comparison to cross-national investigations, findings from studies focussing on subcultural differences are not so clear-cut. For instance, Baxter (1970), in his study of observations of Anglo-, Black-, and Mexican-American pairs, reported consistent differences in proxemic behaviours among the ethnic groups. Forston and Larson (1968), however, cite no significant differences in proxemic behaviour between Latin Americans and North Americans. This latter study has been criticised for the use of politics as a topic of discussion which has been noted to induce a specific proxemic reaction, and hence may not be typical of more everyday behaviour.

Whilst Aiello and Jones (1971) reported differences in proxemic behaviour between American school children as they interacted in the playing area, Scherer (1974) was to refute these findings. He suggested that these differences were in fact class differences, not subcultural differences. His study (1974), similar in design to that of Aiello and Jones (1971), substantiated his claim, finding no differences in proxemic behaviour between children of different subcultures. Jones (1971) also reported finding no statistical differences between subcultures in the United States.

As the studies mentioned indicate, there are clear findings of cultural differences in the use of such proxemic behaviours as spatial distance, eye gaze, orientation and posture. These studies are restricted, however, in that they limit themselves to searching for behavioural differences and similarities across cultures. They are based on descriptive findings rather than looking at the relation between behaviours and interpersonal communication. The next set of studies to be explored, although based in the Western culture, investigate the interaction of proxemic behaviours with aspects of social involvement, specifically interpersonal attraction.

## PROXEMIC BEHAVIOUR AND INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION

A number of researchers have explored the relationship of non-verbal behaviours with various elements of social interaction within Western culture. The general conclusion of such research is that non-verbal behaviours are important enough to influence the process of person perception. They may communicate different messages of persuasion, status, dominance, deception, and affiliation, etc. (Edinger and Patterson, 1983).

Results have supported a strong suggestion that proxemic behaviours communicate certain information about interpersonal attraction. Some researchers have studied the non-verbal behaviours selected or exhibited by subjects in relation to particular levels of interpersonal attraction. Studies on spatial distance have found subjects to place silhouettes and figures closer together when there is greater attraction between them (Little, 1965; Gottheil, Corey and Parades, 1968; Guardo, 1969). Studies looking at eye gaze have also reported that levels of attraction were related to specific patterns of gaze, greater attraction generally leading to increased gaze (Exline and Winters, 1966; Maxwell, Cook and Burr, 1985).

Other studies have presented subjects with various non-verbal behaviours and required them to select the level of attraction they think is represented. Most of this research has also found a reasonable correlation between non-verbal behaviours and interpersonal attraction. For example, subjects have been found to infer more positive feelings or attitudes when shown figures or confederates at close distances or exhibiting increased eye gaze (Kelly, 1972; Scherer, 1974; Goldring, 1967; Argyle, Lefebvre and Cook, 1974; Patterson, 1968).

Mehrabian (1968) reported spatial distance, orientation of the body, eye contact, and relaxation of the body to be significant indices of the subjects' liking of an imaginary addressed person. He found the latter three behaviours to have curvilinear patterns, that is, lesser degrees of these behaviours were related to both high and low liking.

Whilst some researchers have not found a relation between proxemic behaviours and interpersonal attraction (eg. Porter, Argyle and Salter, 1970; Goldberge and Mettee, 1969), it is generally accepted that proxemic behaviours are an integral part of communication. Different levels of behaviours appear to be related to different levels of social interaction. However, many of the cited studies have often studied particular behaviours in isolation. Additionally, they have not studied spontaneous, interactive communication but rather placed people in the laboratory with cut out dolls and silhouettes, or observed dyads through one way mirrors.

Finally, the bulk of work in this area has been based in Western cultures. Generally, this research has concluded that levels of non-verbal behaviours communicate different messages of attraction. The use and interpretation of these behaviours are, however, culturally defined. The next section looks at how these behaviours influence person perception in a cross-cultural setting.

## INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION IN THE CROSS CULTURAL SETTING

Given that there are cultural variations in non-verbal behavioural styles and that proxemic behaviours communicate interpersonal attraction messages, a small number of researchers have investigated the relation of the two in a cross-cultural context. McGinley, Blau and Takai (1984) based their cross-cultural study on findings that American subjects were more attracted to models who smiled and used open body positions (McGinley, McGinley, and Nicholas, 1978). McGinley *et al* (1984) also looked at smiling and body position in relation to attraction, however, using both Japanese and American cultures.

The first half of the study by McGinley *et al* (1984) was conducted in Japan using female Japanese subjects and a Japanese model. Subjects were asked to rate the attraction of a model depicted in slides as smiling or not smiling, as well as using open or closed body positions. These subjects rated the model as most attractive when she smiled frequently and expressed closed body positions, and least attractive when she smiled frequently and expressed open body positions, a different pattern from the American study.

The second half of the study involved American subjects rating the slides of the Japanese model. This was to investigate whether the American subjects would respond to the Japanese model in a similar way to the subjects of the previous American study, or in a manner similar to the Japanese subjects responding to the Japanese model. This provided a check as to whether the reported differences between the two cultures were due to the model or to cultural differences in response. McGinley *et al* (1984) found that their American subjects did respond to the Japanese model in a similar way to the

response of the American subjects to the American model, rating her as most attractive when she smiled frequently and expressed an open body position and least attractive when she smiled infrequently and expressed a closed body position.

There are, however, a number of oversights in this study that should be mentioned. Three judges were employed to select the 'appropriate' slides to be used, however, there is no indication of what culture these judges belonged to, presumably American. This leads to the issue of functional equivalence of the behaviours selected. That is, do the behaviours exhibited in the slides hold similar functional values for both the Japanese and the American subjects? It appears not, for the authors discuss an unexpected "subjective effect" which became apparent in the post experimental questionnaire. Many Japanese subjects commented on the immorality and bad manners of the model, as in the closed body position she is shown with her feet tucked underneath her as she sat in the chair. A Japanese psychologist later advised the authors that in the Japanese culture it is considered very bad manners to put one's feet on furniture even if it is done demurely.

McGinley *et al* (1984) deal with this confounding variable by removing the overall morality effect from the data. However, there is no indication that the authors checked the cultural sensitivity and equivalence of the items used in the American based attractiveness scale. Little is said about this instrument except that the ratings made with the 'liking' and 'working together' items were summed as a single measure of interpersonal attraction. It is possible that the concept equivalence for these two items may not be the same in the two countries, that is, interpersonal attraction may be viewed differently in more intimate settings than in the work environment.

The authors show further cultural insensitivity by not attempting to judge whether slacks are appropriate dress for a woman in Japan, although being university students, the subjects are possibly fairly Westernised in dress. Moreover, only one model is used in each study as an exemplar of attractiveness. A number of models judged to be of similar attractiveness by members of each culture would even out individual variances that might contribute some effect if only one model were used. Finally, slides are static representations that isolate behaviours from normal interactions, especially when shown for only five seconds.

Despite these limitations, differences did emerge between the two cultures in this study by McGinley *et al* (1984). The implication of such differences is that in a cross-cultural interaction, members of one or both cultures may inadvertently convey messages of interpersonal attraction they do not intend through the use of inappropriate non-verbal behaviours. Two studies have set out to explore whether members of one culture trained in the non-verbal behaviours of another are more readily favoured over those who are not.

Both the studies by Collett (1971) and Garrett, Baxter, and Rozelle (1981) involve the training of White assistants in the non-verbal behaviours of another culture with their subsequent rating by naive subjects of that culture. Collett (1971) designed a training programme for Englishmen in the non-verbal behaviours of Arabs to investigate increasing the effectiveness of communication between the two cultures. Subjects were divided into two different groups, being those "trained", and the naive partner of the interaction. Of the former group, some were trained in Arabic non-verbal behaviours whilst others were merely requested to put the other "at ease".

To determine the effectiveness of the programme, it was hypothesised that those subjects employing the native non-verbal behaviours of their interacting partner would be preferred over those using an unfamiliar set of non-verbal behaviours. Findings indicated that although native Arabs prefer Englishmen trained in Arabic non-verbal behaviours, the English subjects did not prefer those Englishmen using native non-verbal behaviours over those employing Arabic non-verbal behaviours.

This study does, however, have a number of limitations. For instance, subjects learning the non-verbal behaviours were only given 10 to 15 minutes in which to rehearse prior to meeting their naive partner, both of whom were then requested to converse on the topic of love. Secondly, the dependant measures involved the naive interactant making a comparison between the trained and untrained subjects, stating who they preferred on a number of dimensions. Examples of these dimensions include flattery, being friends, being "the nicer of the two", taking the subject back to visit his family, etc. No attempt was made to determine whether these items are relevant to the Arabic culture, and it seems likely they are based on English values. In addition, requiring subjects to make a comparison between trained and untrained subjects highlights such differences as non-verbal behaviours. There is no mention of any attempt to determine whether subjects held any suspicions about the true motives of the study. Lastly, because each condition involved a different subject being rated, variables such as physical attractiveness and verbal content were not held constant.

Based on Collett's study, Garrett *et al* (1981) also trained confederates in the use of Black American non-verbal behaviours. These authors were interested in the importance of behaviours used in a specific setting, that of the interaction between White police officers and Black Americans. Garrett



*et al* hypothesised that White police officers trained in the use of applicable Black American non-verbal behaviours would be preferred by naive Black American subjects. The specific non-verbal behaviours included spatial distance, orientation and positioning of the body, and speed of movements. Eye gaze was also included but could not be monitored due to lack of adequate equipment. Similar preference scales to those in the study by Collett (1971) were used, tapping into the personal, social and professional dimensions.

Their results confirmed their hypotheses, and higher preference scores on all three dimensions were gained in the conditions in which the police officer used Black American non-verbal behaviours. Two additional interactions were also detected. A recency effect was gained : subjects preferred the most recent interview they had experienced, regardless of the behaviours used or the officer interviewing them. In addition, although both officers used both sets of behaviours, subjects preferred one officer over the other, regardless of behaviour.

A number of limitations of this study may be noted. There is no indication that cultural advisors were employed to determine and monitor appropriateness and the naturalness of the behaviours. As Garrett *et al* (1981) acknowledge, it is possible that 'normal' White behaviours used in such interactions may have elements of noxiousness about them, for instance, increased eye gaze. The Black American condition, where non-verbal behaviours are 'softened' (eg., less eye contact, less direct orientation, slower movements, and greater interpersonal distances) may be generally more pleasant for the interviewee. The inclusion of White subjects may have helped determine the cultural applicability of each behaviour set.

In addition, two sessions were carried out simultaneously. The experimenter herself monitored both interviews by standing in the doorway passage between the two rooms, using a checklist to observe non-verbal behaviours as well as monitoring the content. There is no further mention of a behaviour manipulation check for the non-verbal behaviours aside from a checklist being maintained. Although the police officers were also trained in the verbal content, there were still reported difficulties with maintaining the order of interview content.

The authors also draw attention to the question of external validity. The police officers were interviewed on their subjective reactions and raised such issues as the artificial setting and using subjects (university students) they did not feel were representative of those with whom they generally come into contact.

These studies in general have suffered from a number of oversights often related to cultural insensitivity, for instance, lack of cultural advisors and culturally inappropriate dependant measures. Other limitations have included inadequate manipulation checks of behaviours, limited training and rehearsal periods, lack of control over verbal content, and the use of slides. Yet their overall conclusions are that the non-verbal behavioural style we possess through our cultural membership impact in different ways on our day to day perceptions of the people we meet.

## IN THE NEW ZEALAND CONTEXT

Within New Zealand, cultural differences in non-verbal behavioural style may also influence intercultural communication. Even though members of a community may speak the same language, they may not share the same non-verbal behaviour code, providing ample opportunity for misunderstanding.

Metge and Kinloch (1978) have conducted a series of interviews focussing on the differences in communication between the Samoan and Palagi (or Pakeha) cultures. Nichol (1984) focussed on the classroom setting using an open discussion format with a number of Samoan and Palagi parents, and looking specifically at non-verbal behavioural styles. Metge and Kinloch (1978) and Nichol (1984) draw attention to the distinct differences between the two cultures in non-verbal behaviours in a variety of areas such as eye gaze, spatial distance, touch, amount of verbalisation, and gesture. Both sets of authors conclude that where members of the two cultures meet, such differences may easily lead to miscommunication.

While the research presented here focusses on the differences in non-verbal behavioural style in the New Zealand context and implications on communication, perceptions of others may also be confounded by ethnicity. It is likely that ethnic stereotyping by the Samoan and Palagi people is an influential variable on person perception. Despite mixed findings from overseas studies, many researchers report a reasonable level of prejudice against other ethnic groups (eg. Katz and Braly, 1933; Gilbert, 1951; Karlins *et al*, 1969; Barr and Hitt, 1986; Parsons and Liden, 1978; Kippax and Brigden, 1977; Patchen, Hofman, and Davidson, 1976; Johnson, Johnson, and Maruyana, 1983). The general finding has been that ethnicity interacts with

such variables as similarity of belief to influence person perception (Walker and Campbell, 1982; Williams and Willis, 1967).

Graves and Graves (1974) conducted one of the earlier exploratory studies on stereotyping of different ethnic groups held by Palagi subjects. They used an open-ended questionnaire and collected descriptive statements from over 350 Palagi subjects. A cluster analysis was performed and three distinct categories emerged corresponding in a broad manner to English based cultures, Polynesian groups and cultures of diverse origin (eg. Dutch, Chinese, etc.). The category related to the Polynesian group included such adjectives as happy, quick-tempered, musical, dirty, uneducated, easy-going, friendly, generous, quiet and clannish.

An unpublished study by Wetherall (1985) also used a trait checklist to uncover stereotypes held by Palagi. Although like Graves and Graves (1974) she did not have a specific category for Samoan, she reported Palagi subjects as describing Pacific Islanders with such items as "go to church" (81%), "often violent" (57%), "tough" (57%), and "friendly" (54%). However, as Oliver and Vaughan (1988) were to suggest, such a checklist may provide a restricted range of response.

Oliver and Vaughan (1988) have carried out an involved study testing a specific model of social stereotyping. As part of their investigations, the authors used a free response questionnaire to tap into traits held by Palagi, Maori and Samoan fifth form students of the three ethnic groups. Some of the more frequently occurring traits assigned by Palagi subjects to Samoans included bludgers/overstayers (45%), violent/hot tempered (34%), and "criminals" (26%). Generally, these traits were a lot more negative than traits assigned by Palagi subjects to the Palagi.

In a further section of their study, Oliver and Vaughan (1988) explored stereotyping in greater depth with the Samoan and Palagi cultures. They compared the use of traits between the two cultures in an ingroup and outgroup context. Oliver and Vaughan tentatively suggest from their results that Palagi have greater "richness" for ingroup than outgroup evaluations. Samoans, on the other hand, have equally complex dimensions for both targets. In addition, the Palagi subjects used more positive traits for their ingroup, but a fairly equal number of positive and negative traits for outgroup. The Samoan subjects used mostly positive traits for both groups. Finally, Oliver and Vaughan (1988) found support for Samoan evaluations to be based on more actual contact with the outgroup or Palagi. On the other hand, Palagi evaluations, the authors conclude, were based less on real contact and more on stereotypes.

In our everyday lives, stereotyping is important and necessary to simplify the chaos of information presented to us. However, many stereotypes based on ethnicity may be maladaptive or misused (McCauley *et al*, 1980) and interfere with our day to day interactions. Although the general pattern emerging from these studies on Palagi stereotyping of Samoans is not always positive, it should be remembered that in many of these studies the Samoan culture was only one of many ethnic groups targetted. The common finding has been for the majority culture to favour its own in-group over other out-groups.

## RATIONALE

Communication is multi-faceted with many variables such as ethnicity and non-verbal behavioural style playing important roles in the ways in which we perceive people. Research on non-verbal behaviours and interpersonal variables has generally supported two conclusions. One is that non-verbal behaviours convey signals of intimacy in an interpersonal setting. For instance, how close we stand to someone is usually indicative of our relationship with them. The second is that each culture has a "criterion" for the use and meaning of behaviours. This criterion may differ from culture to culture.

For example, with eye gaze, the Samoan people of New Zealand generally prefer a less direct gaze during conversation than the Palagi as they consider it challenging and even rude to do otherwise (Metge and Kinloch, 1978). In Japan, children learn in school to direct the gaze at the region of their superior's Adam's apple or tie knot (Morsbach, 1973). In Greece, it is customary to look at people in public places much more than in Western Europe (Argyle and Cook, 1976).

However, Argyle (1967) writes that many Western societies consider a person as being slightly suspicious or shifty if they do not engage in a certain amount of eye gaze with their partner when talking face to face. Watson (1970) reported that in some cultures, a higher level of gaze than is "appropriate" is perceived as disrespectful, threatening, and insulting etc. On the other hand, too little gaze may be interpreted as not paying attention, as impolite, insincere, or shy in other cultures. It therefore seems likely that the same non-verbal behaviours may communicate a different interpersonal message depending on the cultural context.

The present study is one of only a few which explores the impact of culturally based non-verbal behavioural style and ethnicity on interpersonal attraction. There is little such research conducted within the New Zealand context. In New Zealand, the Samoan culture currently makes up around 1.5% of the total population and is the third largest ethnic group as defined by the 1986 census. Although their population is smaller in number than that of the New Zealand Maori, the Samoan culture is generally recognised as more stylised in their non-verbal behaviours than the Maori culture who have become more assimilated to the Palagi way of communicating. Hence, using Samoan behaviours permits greater distinction between the two behaviour sets used.

Many earlier studies focussing on non-verbal behaviours have limited themselves by using static representations of behaviours, such as dolls, figures and slides. Some have also isolated specific behaviours rather than considering non-verbal behaviours to belong together as a culturally defined aspect of communication. Cross-cultural studies in this area have also suffered limitations, such as the use of culturally inappropriate behaviours (McGinley *et al*, 1984) and culturally insensitive dependant measures (Collett, 1971).

The present study uses an interactive setting in which confederates are trained in as many culturally based behaviours as is appropriate and practical. Furthermore, the Samoan confederates are additionally employed as cultural advisors to determine the relevance of the behaviours selected and to aid in training. Dependant measures used in the present study are related in a general manner to interpersonal attraction rather than to specific

examples such as 'flatting together' (Collett, 1971) to maximise their relevance for both cultures participating.

Control of verbal content in interactions has proved to be a problem in the study by Collett (1971). Subjects trained in behavioural styles were merely requested to converse on the topic of love. Garrett *et al* (1981) also reported difficulties in control over interview order. Confederates in the present study were trained to respond to a set of questions presented by the subject. The use of a questionnaire in the context of a structured interview provided a specific content order and helped the confederates to respond in a similar manner across conditions.

The study by Garrett *et al* (1981) suffers from other problems such as lack of adequate manipulation checks on behaviours used by the trained confederates. The present study utilises videotaping as a means of recording behaviours which were then able to be analysed objectively. This served to check that non-verbal behaviours did differ significantly across conditions whilst verbal content stayed relatively consistent.

Finally, subjects in this study are interacting with only one confederate rather than being required to make comparisons between confederates, as in the Collett (1971) study, which could only highlight differences in non-verbal behavioural style. The use of confederates and the cover story of administering a questionnaire helps to maximise the naturalness of the interactions in this study.



### **Objectives and hypotheses**

The aim of this study is to determine the influence of culturally based non-verbal behaviours and ethnicity on interpersonal attraction. An attempt is made to isolate the two variables by using confederates of both cultures who were trained to use both Samoan and Palagi non-verbal behaviours. Subjects were all Palagi. The specific hypotheses are as follows :

1. Subjects will show preference for the confederate who displays the subject's non-verbal behavioural style.
2. Subjects will prefer the confederate who is of the subject's own ethnicity.
3. Subjects will show :
  - a) the greatest preference for the confederate who displays the subjects own behavioural style and who is of the same ethnicity as themselves, and
  - b) the least preference for the confederate who does not use the subjects own behavioural style and who is of a different ethnicity from them.

## METHOD

### PARTICIPANTS

#### SUBJECTS

The 68<sup>1</sup> subjects were all female undergraduate students studying Psychology at the University of Canterbury. They were aged between 17 and 25 years. Subjects were approached through stage one and stage two Psychology labs where they were asked to participate in a 15 minute study. Subjects were informed the study focussed on friendship with reference to women between the ages of 17 and 25. Any assistance was completely voluntary.

#### CONFEDERATES

The eight confederates were all female undergraduate students at Canterbury University. They were aged between 20 and 26 years. Four of the confederates belonged to the Samoan culture and were Samoan in appearance. Of these four, three were Samoan born and one New Zealand born. The remaining four confederates were Palagi, or New Zealanders of European descent.

Contact was made with the Samoan assistants through various university avenues such as the Samoan Club and the Student Health Centre. The three Samoan born confederates had resided in New Zealand approximately three years. The Palagi assistants were other postgraduate Psychology students.

For all sessions confederates wore similar dress, that of a typical university student, ie. jeans, sweatshirt/shirt/jumper, and flat shoes.

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<sup>1</sup>The design was intended to use a total of 64 subjects. From the initial 68 subjects, four sessions were rejected for various reasons (see Method and Results).

In using eight confederates, the differences in individual social skills is more evenly distributed. Both subjects and confederates were female in an attempt to reduce the influence of sexual attraction as a variable.

## **MATERIALS**

### **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

This schedule consists of 21 questions related to interpersonal attraction and friendship, and an accompanying set of responses (see Appendix 1).

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE**

This questionnaire (see Appendix 2) is apparently concerned with issues relating to the improvement of the design of the study. It is comprised of 12 questions, eight of these being seven point scales. Four of these scalar items are those directly relevant to the study and assess interpersonal attraction. They tap into perceptions of friendliness, comfort, how much the subject likes the confederate, and how much subjects feel the confederates like them. The scales range from negative to positive.

## **PROCEDURE**

### **TRAINING**

#### **Preparation**

Initially, to gain a grasp of the field of cross-cultural communication, I talked to members of the Samoan community. Assistance from four Samoan students was then gained, and several discussion sessions held. The whole

area of Samoan and Palagi non-verbal behaviours was discussed in depth over several hour-long sessions involving the four confederates and the author. The Samoans experiences in first entering this culture were talked about, as well as the general differences in behaviours between the two cultures. Some of the areas covered included touch, spatial distance, angle of orientation, manner of negation, eye gaze, posture, behaviours directed to people of status, paralanguage, and facial expression.

### **Standardisation of behaviours**

The repertoire of behaviours considered possible was narrowed by applying the behaviours to the setting of the study and rejecting those considered inappropriate. Mock trials were held by the Samoan confederates in order to standardise the behaviours to be used. It was acknowledged that behaviours would have to be obviously distinct, but also be appropriate and natural.

The criteria included spatial distance, angle of orientation, posture, and eye gaze. In addition, corresponding head movement and tone of voice were discussed and practiced. Videotaping was undertaken in experimental sessions to ensure that the criteria set for the behavioural style were met.

The criteria chosen were as follows:

Palagi	Samoan
<u>Eye Gaze</u> As the confederate is doing the majority of the talking, eye gaze should occur 40%-50% of the time. <sup>1</sup>	Eye gaze should consist primarily of glances of short duration - approximately one second or less. Total gaze should occur approximately 2%-8% of interaction time.
<u>Spatial Distance</u> Approximately 1 metre distance between the the two chairs. <sup>2</sup>	Approximately 40cm at the closest points between the two chairs.
<u>Angle of Orientation</u> The two chairs are to be positioned directly facing each other.	The chairs are to be positioned at an angle of 45°.
<u>Posture</u> Relaxed with back against back of chair. Legs crossed or spread comfortably in front.	Seated on edge of chair with back relatively straight. Hands relaxed in lap, knees and feet together.

Note:

1. Argyle (1975) quotes the following figures for Western individual gaze:

whilst listening.....75%

whilst talking.....40%

As confederates are spending the majority of the interaction time talking, with a small amount of time listening to the questions, it was expected that their overall eye gaze would be approximately 40%-50% of the time.

2. Hall's (1966, p116) personal space criteria was referred to, and ammended through rehearsals by the confederates.

### Additional Non-Verbal Behaviours

Confederates were additionally trained in the use of head movement. However, for practical reasons, such as the difficulty of setting a quantitative criteria for them, and observing these behaviours accurately on video, they were not included in the video manipulation check.

Palagi	Samoan
<u>Head Movement.</u>	
Head held up.	Head lowered slightly
Movement mostly from the eyes rather than the whole head and neck. When considering an answer, eyes should tend to look up and around.	When contemplating a response, eyes tend to look downwards and to the side away from the subject.

Confederates also tended to lower the volume of their voice in the Samoan non-verbal behaviour condition. This was appropriate to the Samoan culture.

### Rehearsals

The questions and responses making up the Interview Schedule (see Appendix 1) were constructed by the supervisor and then streamlined in a brainstorming session with the eight confederates. Both questions and replies are irrelevant to the hypotheses set. They do, however, provide the medium through which interaction can occur between the confederate and subject. The questionnaire was designed to provide responses to last 10 minutes. This was so that each subject would experience the same opportunity to observe behaviours. The questions were aimed to be personal enough to encourage an atmosphere of informal and relaxed interaction, but not so personal that it intruded upon the process of communication.

Confederates were then required to learn and practice the interviewee's script although verbatim recall was not compulsory. The Palagi confederates were trained in the use of Samoan non-verbal behaviours by the Samoan counterparts and the experimenter. This was done by holding a series of mock interviews over a period of four hours, with at least two of the Samoan confederates present each time.

### **SETTING**

The room used was approximately 5.3 x 4.8 metres in size. Two standard padded seat chairs were set up according to the designated angle and distance. The video was trained on the confederate and was attached to a wooden trolley approximately 3.5 metres from the chairs.

In the corridor directly outside this room, a table and two chairs were placed as a waiting area for the experimenter and participants. This area remained relatively quiet, with no large lecture theatres nearby.

## IMPLEMENTATION

Sixty four Palagi subjects were randomly assigned to one of four conditions:

- a) the Palagi confederate, Palagi non-verbal behaviours,
- b) the Palagi confederate, Samoan non-verbal behaviours,
- c) the Samoan confederate, Palagi non-verbal behaviours, or
- d) the Samoan confederate, Samoan non-verbal behaviours.

As soon as both the subject and the confederate had arrived, they were asked to follow the experimenter into the room. The experimenter read aloud to both pre-written instructions (see Appendix 3). In all cases, the subject was "randomly" chosen to ask the questions, and the confederate to respond. Once the confederate and subject were seated, the experimenter handed the questions (see Appendix 1) to the subject, turned on the video and left the room. The confederate responded to the questions read by the subject using the appropriate replies (see Appendix 4) and behaviours.

The experimenter re-entered the room when ten minutes was up and requested that the subject complete the research questionnaire pertaining to the improvement of the study (see Appendix 2). The confederate was taken to another room ostensibly for the same purpose. Questionnaire completion was anonymous, and subjects returned the questionnaires into a box in the room.

One questionnaire was rejected as it was not completed fully. A further session was terminated prior to commencement due to the subject and confederate knowing each other. Two extra sessions were added to bring the total number to 64.



**MANIPULATION CHECK**

The videotapes of each session were checked by the experimenter to ensure that the non-verbal behaviours learnt were carried out according to instruction and that the scripts were followed

**DEBRIEFING**

Subjects were contacted again through their psychology labs and given a full debriefing session. This took place once the experimental sessions were completed rather than after each individual interview. This was considered necessary due to the high likelihood of leakage amongst past and potential subjects.

## RESULTS

### MANIPULATION CHECK

A manipulation check of the confederates' non-verbal behaviour was carried out by studying videotapes made of the confederates during each session. They were checked by the experimenter to ensure that the non-verbal behaviours used were appropriate to each cultural condition, and that the scripts were followed.

### MEASUREMENT OF BEHAVIOURS

#### Eye Gaze

The mean overall eye gaze for the Palagi non-verbal behaviour condition was 4.57 minutes (45.7%), therefore falling into the expected range (refer to the Methods section for an outline of the criteria set).

The mean overall eye gaze for the Samoan condition was 25 seconds (4.2%), again falling within the expected range. Study of the tapes showed the average duration of eye gaze for all confederates to be 0.53 seconds, close to the estimated one second or less.

A t-test was performed on the two means for confederates overall eye gaze in the Samoan and Palagi conditions. The test revealed significant differences between the two means,  $t(7)=40.23$ ,  $p<0.001$ .

### Spatial Distance and Angle of Orientation

The chairs were positioned prior to each session. The angles and distances were then checked at the conclusion of the session to ensure the subject had not repositioned the chair. On no occasion did subjects move their chairs.

### Posture

Posture was coded by the presence or absence of the set criteria. In all cases, the criteria for posture were present.

### Head Movement

No quantitative criteria was established for this non-verbal behaviour because of the difficulty of doing so. However, from observation of the videos these behaviours tended to be used by the confederates.

Two sessions were rejected and then repeated after watching the videos due to inappropriate behaviours on behalf of the confederate.

### **ADHERENCE TO SCRIPT**

Although confederates were not required to respond verbatim to the questions asked by the subject, observation of the videos revealed that the general core of the scripts was followed by all confederates.

### **DEBRIEFING**

During the debriefing session, all subjects were probed as to whether they had held any suspicions about the true nature of the study. Although some had felt there was some element of deception involved, no subject had any idea that the other "student" was a confederate or was manipulating her non-verbal behaviours.

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

In order to explore the influence ethnicity and non-verbal behavioural style have on the responses of Palagi interactants to aspects of interpersonal attraction, a 2x2 Analysis of Variance was performed. The independent variables are ethnicity of the confederate (Palagi and Samoan), and the non-verbal style used by the confederate (Palagi and Samoan). The dependant variable is interpersonal attraction as measured by four scales in the research questionnaire (see Appendix 2):

- a) how comfortable the subject feels with the confederate,
- b) how friendly the subject finds the confederate,
- c) how much the subject likes the confederate, and
- d) how much the subject feels the confederate likes them.

The scores of the four items were summed to produce one score of interpersonal attraction. The coefficient alpha indicating the internal reliability of the four item interpersonal attraction scale is 0.79. This scale scores from four to 28, with the higher scores reflecting greater levels of interpersonal attraction.

An Analysis of Variance on these items revealed a main effect for non-verbal behaviour style,  $F(1,60)=4.02$ ,  $p<0.05$ . Subjects, therefore, gave significantly higher ratings on interpersonal attraction for those confederates using Palagi non-verbal behavioural style ( $M=21.6$ ) than Samoan non-verbal behavioural style ( $M=20.1$ ), regardless of the ethnicity of the confederate. These findings support hypothesis one, that is, that subjects will show a preference for those confederates using the same non-verbal behaviour style as themselves.

The second hypothesis was that subjects will show a preference for those confederates of the same ethnicity as themselves, ie. the Palagi confederates. No main effect was found for ethnicity,  $F(1,60)=1.82$ , ns, therefore not confirming this hypothesis.

The third hypothesis, that subjects will show the greatest preference for those confederates of the same ethnicity and who displays their native non-verbal behaviours, and least preference for those confederates of a different ethnicity and using corresponding non-verbal behaviours, was not supported,  $F(1,60)=0.20$ , ns. There was no significant interaction between non-verbal style and ethnicity, although the means were in the predicted direction(see Table 1).

Table 1 : Table of mean ratings of interpersonal attraction

	Palagi NVB style	Samoa NVB style
Palagi Ethnicity	22.3	20.4
Samoa Ethnicity	20.9	19.7

## DISCUSSION

In a multi-cultural society such as New Zealand, greater understanding of the interaction between members of different cultures has consequences for everyday life. This study suggests that cultural differences in non-verbal behaviours may have an important influence on the ways in which we perceive people. In particular, the results showed Palagi subjects to have greater preference for those confederates who employed the subject's own non-verbal behavioural style, regardless of the ethnicity of the confederate.

Consistent with the findings of other studies (Collett, 1971; Garrett *et al*, 1981), the present study found cultural differences in non-verbal behavioural style to impact on person perception. It is possible that in the present study, some of the behaviours experienced by the Palagi subjects in the Samaon non-verbal behavioural style may not only convey differences in interpersonal messages, but they may also convey messages that are perceived negatively. For instance, Patterson (1976) conducted research on spatial invasions- or close interpersonal distances- reporting not only greater discomfort felt by subjects but also negative affective reactions. Lessened eye gaze than is culturally appropriate may also be perceived in a negative light. Argyle (1967) notes that many Westerners regard a person as being slightly shifty or suspicious if they do not engage in a certain amount of eye contact when talking face to face.

Although no effect for ethnicity was found in this study, work conducted within New Zealand on ethnic stereotyping has found evidence for stereotyping of the Samoan people by Palagi subjects. Carver and Glass (1978) outline a number of variables which diminish the impact of ethnicity on person perception in social psychological studies. Firstly, it is possible that

there is no prejudice present. Second, subjects may be influenced by social desirability and are responding in the way they feel is required of them and is most appropriate. Lastly, Carver and Glass (1978) note that subjects may be unconsciously denying negative feelings they have of another ethnic group.

Although the design of the present study does not allow for more in-depth investigation of these possibilities, it can be speculated that social desirability is not be a strong factor for two reasons. Firstly, for each subject, direct comparisons are not made between Palagi and Samoan confederates, diminishing the salience of ethnicity. Second, the items related to interpersonal attraction were embedded with other questions minimising their significance for the subject.

It is possible that the context of this study may diminish the negative impact of ethnicity on interpersonal attraction. Previous research has suggested that certain conditions may lead to a reduction in prejudice, for instance, a setting that is conducive to working together to achieve a common goal, particularly when interactants are of similar status (Stephan, 1985). It is possible that the interview setting used in this study, where both subject and confederate were referred to as students and both were participating in psychological research, may fulfil such criteria.

Finally, the findings from this study suggest that previous research may have confounded ethnicity and non-verbal behavioural style. For instance, a number of studies have considered ethnicity as a potential variable of influence in job evaluations. Some of these studies using an interactive setting have cited results confirming the effect of ethnicity (Singer, 1988; Barr and Hitt, 1986; Parsons and Liden, 1984). However, in these studies the influencing factor may not be ethnicity per se, but cultural differences in

non-verbal behavioural style. Hence, the findings of this study suggest that non-verbal behavioural style should be taken into consideration when examining the effect of ethnicity.

## LIMITATIONS

### SUBJECT SAMPLE

In the present study, the pattern of findings may have differed if subjects were not Palagi but Samaon. As well as providing a more powerful design, use of both Samaon and Palagi subjects would have enabled a more comprehensive view of the influence of culturally based non-verbal behaviours on person perception in New Zealand.

It is plausible that there are differences between minority and majority groups in their responses to non-verbal behavioural style. One possibility is that cultural differences in non-verbal behavioural style are perceived in an ingroup-outgroup context. Members of a minority culture may prefer to take on the non-verbal behavioural style of the majority culture. Alternatively, minority cultures as suggested by the flexibility of the confederates' behaviours, may be more bicultural in their communication skills. If this were so, non-verbal behavioural style may interact to a greater extent with ethnicity for members of a minority culture. Samoan subjects may prefer Samoan confederates who employ Samaon non-verbal behavioural style, and Palagi confederates who employ the Palagi non-verbal behavioural style.

As is the case in much social psychological research, one limitation of the present study is the use of university students as subjects, making



generalisation more difficult. In addition, subjects in this study were all female. There are reported gender differences in the ways that females and males respond to non-verbal behaviours (Eakins and Eakins, 1981). Using both male and female subjects would help build a more complete picture of the influence of non-verbal behaviours on person perception.

## METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

### Non-verbal behaviours and experimenter demand

Facial expression, in particular, smiling, was not controlled in this study due to both the difficulty of training confederates and of constructing objective criterion for the manipulation check. It was considered that the amount of smiling would follow naturally from the proxemic behaviours employed. Smiling is usually an interactive behaviour, with increased eye gaze providing more opportunity for smiling. Because the Samoan condition involved the confederate using less eye gaze at the subject, there was subsequently less opportunity for smiling. It is possible to argue that if the Palagi condition resulted in more positive facial expressions, then greater attraction is inevitable. On the other hand, if decreased opportunity for positive facial expression is a part of the cultural set of Samoan behaviours, then it is still a valid non-verbal behaviour.

There may have been an element of experimenter demand in this study as it was not feasible to keep confederates uninformed about the hypotheses. The Samoan confederates were additionally cultural advisors and determined the appropriateness of the non-verbal behaviours to be used. Confederates in the Palagi non-verbal behavioural style conditions may have inadvertently communicated more positive behaviours and hence influenced the ratings of interpersonal attraction.

### Order of Conditions

Due to practical considerations, all confederates conducted the Samoan non-verbal behaviour conditions first, followed by the Palagi non-verbal behaviour condition. It is possible that this order may have inadvertently influenced results. Confederates may have gradually become more comfortable and relaxed with the setting, interaction and responses, thus increasing the attractiveness of confederates in the later interviews, and disadvantaging the Samoan condition. It would have been preferable to have reversed the order of conditions for half of the confederates.

### External Validity

Compared to field work, this research as a laboratory based study may be criticised in terms of its external validity. For university students, however, participating in studies is a frequent and normal event in their undergraduate years. Furthermore, this setting allowed for the subjects to be able to focus on the confederate without making the behaviours a significant variable of attention.

## **APPLICATIONS AND EXTENSIONS**

In practical terms, the importance of non-verbal behavioural style in a cross-cultural interaction, as suggested by this study, has implications for the feasibility of training and awareness courses. Suitable focusses for such courses could be classroom settings, international and community politics, public services, therapy settings, etc. The findings of Collett's (1971) work suggest that such training could be worthwhile. In addition, the results of the present study may also have important contributions to make on the work on racial discrimination.

In future research, focus on the minority culture as well as the majority culture would allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the role of non-verbal behaviours in everyday communication. In addition, and possibly of greater importance, is for the distinction to be made between ethnicity and culturally based non-verbal behavioural style when considering ethnicity as a variable in future studies of intercultural interactions.

## CONCLUSION

Despite the limitations of this study, the results suggest that cultural differences in non-verbal behavioural style influence the way in which we perceive people. The finding that Palagi subjects showed greater preference for those confederates who used Palagi non-verbal behavioural style, regardless of ethnicity, has application and relevance for everyday interactions in New Zealand. A direction for future research could be the investigation of minority cultures, providing a greater understanding of the role of non-verbal behavioural style in person perception. The pattern of adjustment in non-verbal behaviours as people enter new cultures may also be of interest. Such issues open up a wealth of yet unanswered questions in the realm of intercultural communication.

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## APPENDIX 1

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

*Please read aloud to the other person taking part in the study all that is written below. Wait until they have given a reply before proceeding to the next question.*

There are no right or wrong answers. This study is concerned with your opinions about some aspects of friendship. Please answer openly and feel free to talk for any length on a question. You will be informed when the time is up.

1. Generally, do you prefer the company of people of similar age, younger or older age than yourself? For what reasons?
2. Do you ever feel a need to spend time by yourself? If yes, when and for what reasons?
3. How would you feel about spending a whole day by yourself without talking to anyone else, for example, on holiday in a remote place?
4. Would you be prepared to embark on something more longterm by yourself, for instance, going overseas or on a cruise?
5. Do you enjoy team activities or do you prefer doing activities by yourself, and for what reasons?

6. If you had the choice of going out with a group of friends on Saturday night, what sort of things would you like to do?
7. What reasons might make you turn down their invitation?
8. What would be the ideal relationships in your life?
9. Do you like most people you know?
10. What qualities would make you attracted to someone and want to be their friend?
11. How many people do you feel you love and who are they?
12. Of those that you dislike, is it because of something in particular they have done, or their personality generally?
13. What are some reasons people would irritate you?
14. Do you feel comfortable sitting having lunch by yourself around many other people for instance, at the university cafeteria? If not, why not?
15. Do you feel most of your friends are reasonably similar to yourself, and in what ways?
16. What do you think about university as a meeting place of people?
17. Do you think it is important to meet people outside university and for what reasons?

18. How important are your school friends now that you are at university?

19. How do you feel your views on friendships and relationships have changed since your school days?

20. How important is your family to you?

21. How important is marriage to you?

## APPENDIX 2

## RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Can you help us improve the design of our study?

Please answer the following questions honestly. There are no right or wrong answers, but we would value your opinions. All answers will be strictly confidential. Place a circle around the number that best describes how you felt about the session.

1. How comfortable did the setting make you feel?

not at all							
comfortable			moderately			very	
			comfortable			comfortable	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

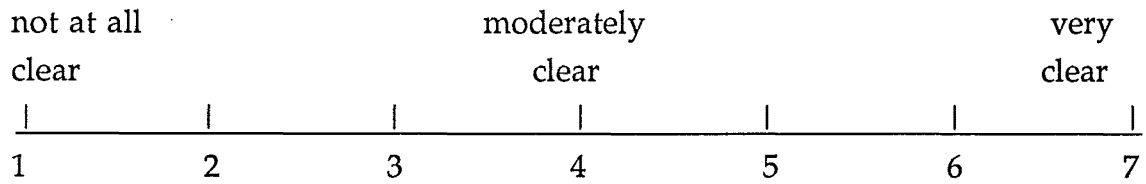
2. How friendly did you find the other person taking part?

not at all							
friendly			moderately			very	
			friendly			friendly	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

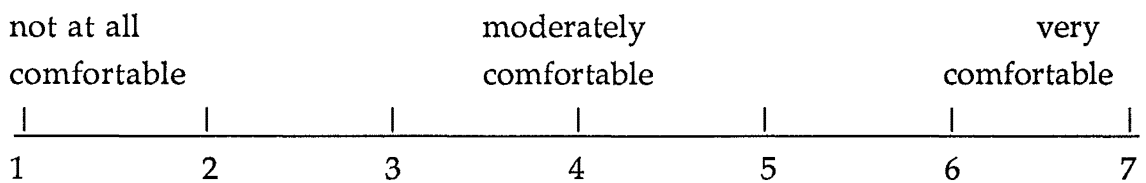
3. How comfortable did you feel with the other person?

not at all							
comfortable			moderately			very	
			comfortable			comfortable	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

4. How clear were the questions?



5. How comfortable did you feel with the person asking/answering the questions being another student?



6. Did you mind asking/answering the questions given? | YES | NO |

If yes, which areas would you prefer not to discuss?

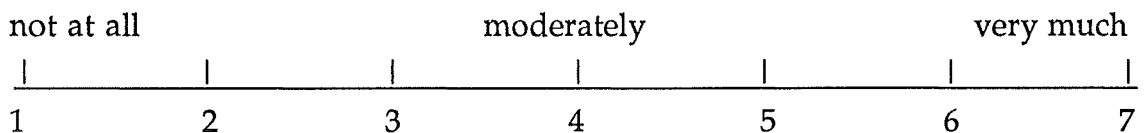
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7. Was the time period adequate to your discussion? | YES | NO |

8. How much did you like the other person taking part in the study?



9. Did you feel the other person liked you?

not at all			moderately			very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. What did you think the study was about?

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11. Any other comments you would like to make?

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THANK-YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE!

(Please place in the box provided when you have filled it in)

## APPENDIX 3

### EXPERIMENTER'S SCRIPT

Hello, my name is Anna-Marie.

I'm helping carry out a study in which we are interested in your views on some aspects of friendship.

We're trying out a slightly different approach in that we are using two students to help us in each session. One will ask the questions and the other will answer them. This is to help the person answering the questions feel more comfortable doing so.

By randomly pulling names out of a hat we've placed each of you to either ask the questions or to answer them. For this session...

\_\_\_\_\_ (subject) will ask the questions, and  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (confederate) will answer them.

So...\_\_\_\_\_ (subject), if you read the instructions and the list of questions that we give you to \_\_\_\_\_ (confederate).

Please don't prompt in any way, but just sit and listen.

\_\_\_\_\_ (confederate), if you listen to the questions and respond openly to how you feel about them.

We have set up a video in the corner of the room as that seems the easiest way to record the replies. The session will only take 10 minutes, and I will tap on the door and enter when the time is up.

Afterwards, you will be given a very short questionnaire about some aspects of the study to help us improve the design.



Are there any questions?

\_\_\_\_\_ (subject) if you sit here, and \_\_\_\_\_  
(confederate) if you sit here.

I will give \_\_\_\_\_(subject) the questionnaire to read.

*When 10 minutes is up, knock loudly on the door and enter...*

Your time is up now. I would like you both to answer a very short questionnaire about some aspects of the study to help us improve the design. It will be carried out in total confidence. Please do not place your name on the questionnaire, but place it in the box provided when you have completed it.

I will leave \_\_\_\_\_(subject) in this room to fill in the questionnaire, and use another room for \_\_\_\_\_(confederate). Come out when you have finished it.

*When the subject has finished the second questionnaire...*

Thank you for your time and co-operation!

## APPENDIX 4

### CONFEDERATES' REPLIES

1. I prefer the company of people similar age to me. I feel more comfortable with them.

Children are just too young, and adolescents can be frustrating sometimes. Most of my friends would be a similar age to me.

2. Yes, just occasionally.

I think everyone needs time out at some stage, especially after a busy day, when you just want to sit down and have time to yourself.

It's important if you've been stressed out, too.

3. I could probably handle half a day by myself, but then I would probably get bored. I would want to talk to someone.

I would prefer to share a holiday with someone else- I think it's more fun.

An hour or two can be good, especially if you have a good book, say, and read in front of the fire.

4. I could probably do it if had to, but I would prefer to share a holiday like that with a friend. It is good to have someone to talk to at the time as well as afterwards.

When there are others with you, you don't have to look after yourself the same way - someone can check out tickets and you don't have to worry about the luggage. It's extra security.

Also, for women it is good for them to have someone with them, especially in countries like Turkey.

5. A bit of both.

Sports such as squash and tennis you need at least one other person.

I haven't done many team things- mostly at school. They were quite fun.

Things like jogging and aerobics you do more on your own.

6. Lots of things, such as tenpin bowling, the movies, going out somewhere to eat, ice-skating, roller-skating,-they are all fun in a big group.

Also things like videos at someone's place with heaps of popcorn and pizza, or going out to a concert and then onto supper.

7. If I didn't like the group, or feel comfortable with them.

Maybe I couldn't be bothered- or lack of motivation, or energy.

Sometimes it feels too cold in the middle of winter, or I feel too tired and feel like crawling into bed.

Or I might have something else to do.

8. Three or four close friends, both male and female, and someone, a partner, who's very close.

Other friends, acquaintances that you meet through lectures and clubs and sports.

My family are also important.

9. With a few exceptions, I tolerate most people.

10. Honesty, loyalty, sincerity, friendship, sense of humour, understanding, kindness, respect, sensitivity, similar sorts of values and ideals and outlook on life.

11. I love my family, and my boyfriend, and probably my two closest girlfriends.

12. Personality mostly-if they talk to you and never listen to what you say. Very one way. If they appear false, superficial.

-The sort of people who take rather than give or share. A bit selfish.

13. When you ask them to stop doing something and they just carry on doing it.

In a flat, when they don't do the dishes, or help keep the place clean.

At times people are really inconsiderate - they do things like playing loud music early in the morning or late at night, or talking and giggling behind you at the movies.

14. It depends on how busy it is. If it's really busy, I don't often feel very comfortable. I might dash in and then out again.

Sitting on the grass in summer is OK if there aren't too many people around.

In the small caf. everyone looks as if they're in groups and you feel as if your'e pushing in. You can feel as if are being watched.

**15.** Most of my friends have a similar education level-they're mostly at Varsity.

I think similar values are important.

You don't necessarily have to have the same personality characteristics-some people are quieter and others enjoy talking more.

Different interests can help you get involved in new things.

**16.** In the fist year, classes are often so big it's quite hard to meet people labs are good, especially if you pair off with a partner.

Probably the smaller the classes get, and the more years you spend with the same group of classmates, the easier it is

Varsity is also good for clubs-they're fun and you get to meet people outside lectures.

**17.** Sometimes I need a break from Varsity. You need to meet other people Also it's a good way of seeing other people's values etc. outside of the academic world.

**18.** In the beginning they were really important. It was really good to have a group to meet for lunch But then you drift away from them and make new friends.

**19.** I have probably changed quite a bit. At school, you didn't have as much choice about who you made friends with. You had to put up with them all. At Varsity you have a lot more choice about the friends you want to make

**20.** It's really important when you're living at home, then it's good to get on with them.

Mum can be good to talk to, but sometimes we don't get on so well and they don't see things the way I do

**21.** For the future it's probably quite important, but not at the moment.

There are too many other things to do first.

Eventually I think most people want to have a stable partner, especially if they want a family.